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682 sacrifices of expiation or else 'their house—*i.e.* line of descent—is destroyed (*ba yiri ymaarɔme*)' in retribution. This is the strongest sanction against homicide among the Tallensi. Whether it is intended or accidental, whether the victim is a clansman or a stranger, and has been slain at home or abroad, homicide is a sin against the Earth and must be expiated. But it is so grave a sin that it can, in fact, never be wholly atoned for. 'You cannot finish paying' the Tallensi say. It is a sin that pursues the wrongdoer's agnatic descendants for generations.

627 682 577 The Tallensi have no juridical machinery for taking penal action against a murderer and do not exact compensation. Between clans homicide may lead to vengeance and war; within the clan it does not. In the latter case it is like a cow that has trampled on its calf and killed it, the natives say. In either case the matter is left to the arbitrament of Earth. Tallensi who have shed human blood take no pride in it. A man who can be persuaded to confide the story of how he killed another speaks of his deed as if it were forced on him by circumstances. Though homicide seems to have been an infrequent occurrence in the past, it was by no means rare; but every instance I have heard of was presented as a reprehensible action, even if it was due to provocation or done in self-help. Informants always draw the moral prescribed by Tale ethical values. So-and-so killed a man and died childless; So-and-so left only one young son; deaths pile up in such-and-such a family because their father had shot a man. In the long run, again, the reaction to sacrilege is greater respect for the moral norm and its ritual sanction.

578 682 Bloodshed and strife are symptoms and causes of deep rifts in or between human communities. The taboos against them show us the Earth as a sanction of solidarity within and between communities; and this is of particular interest in relation to the structure of the settlement. The bond between community and locality has moral implications for the natives that transcend the crude facts of spatial distribution and economic organization in which they are rooted. It is worth while tracing out these implications somewhat further from the starting-point of the individual farmer again.

The Social Framework of Production: Land Tenure

241 471 [461] 431 The farming unit among the Tallensi is the group of male agnates of a single household who usually form a nuclear lineage. Most of the plots it farms are owned by the farming unit, but some may be borrowed for a shorter or longer period and some held by gift. In the case of borrowed or gift land the farmer—distinguished as the 'owner of the farm' (*kuoraana*)—pays no rent to the owner—distinguished as 'the owner of the soil' (*tamraana*)—or tribute to a political authority. An annual gift of grain, when crops are good, is the only return he makes to the owner of the land, and this is a voluntary gesture of gratitude, not a jural obligation. Borrowed land always reverts to the owner. Theoretically gift land can also be resumed at will by the owner. In practice it often becomes the property of the recipient's lineage in the third or fourth generation after the gift, if it has been farmed continuously by that lineage. This is either because donor and recipient are usually kin, related in such a way that

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241 the latter can claim a contingent right to the land and cannot be dis-
471 possessed without offence to their common ancestor or ancestress; or
431 because the land was virgin at the time of the gift and the donor 'cut' (*kie*) it for the recipient in virtue of being the tendaana of the area. Thus all farm-land is either owned or in process of becoming owned.

471 The ownership (*solom*) of farm-land is a precise jural concept among
613 the Tallensi. Briefly, it is vested in a lineage and forms the most important part of the lineage patrimony (*faar*). When, in course of time, this lineage splits up, some of the *faar* land will be apportioned among the resulting segments, each of which will retain perpetual and exclusive ownership of its portion. The rest of the *faar* land remains the common property of the whole lineage. Though the bulk of farm-land is owned by nuclear lineages, there is land owned by lineages of larger span than the average nuclear lineage.

471 To say that land is owned by a lineage is equivalent to saying that it is
428 generally acquired by right of inheritance. All males of the lineage have the right to inherit lineage land, but at any given time control over it is
613 vested in the head of the lineage, by right of seniority. He inherits (*vaa*)
577 what amounts to full usufructuary rights within the limits of the co-existing rights of the other members of the lineage. The utilization of the land is at his discretion; he disposes of the crops; and in some settlements he is nominally free to pledge or to sell the land. But he is subject to restraints which observation shows to be very effective. He is bound to provide fairly for the wants of those who share the labour of farming with him. Tallensi formulate this obligation in terms of reciprocity within the productive unit, which they regard as a matter of natural justice and moral duty. They emphasize, however, that there is also a
[686] strong practical sanction behind the rule. A man who deals meanly or unscrupulously with his younger brothers, sons, or brother's sons will find that they leave him at the first opportunity; and the strength of this sanction has increased now that young men, and even girls, can easily slip away to work abroad. In accordance with this obligation a lineage head always consults his dependants about the disposal of land, crops, or other patrimonial property.

688 There is also a religious sanction, the converse of the obligation to
471 one's dependants, and the ritual projection of the common interest of the lineage in its patrimonial land. Inherited farm-land is a sacred trust
432 of the ancestors. Their labour won it for human use, hallowed it, and preserved it for their descendants. It belongs to them. To pledge it is a slur on them; to sell it a sacrilege. 'It will kill deaths (*de kura kum*)'—the offended ancestors will cause deaths in the family of the seller—the natives say. And the strength of this sanction is such that only dire necessity will make a man sell ancestral land in the settlements where this is allowed. It is, in fact, an uncommon thing for farm-land to be sold, both for technological reasons, and on account of the ritual sanction against sale. In places like Tongo, land sales do occur, however, but appear to have been more frequent in the past than at present. Three out of every four nuclear lineages at Tongo possess farm plots that they claim have been purchased during the past two or three generations.

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682 Some sixty years ago a Tamboog man was killed by a group of Yamələg
×618 men with whom he quarrelled at a dance. Two or three years later a couple of Tamboog men met a Yamələg man alone in the bush and slew him in revenge. The Yamələg people understood that this was a case of 'wiping out a debt' and the matter was regarded as closed.

×618 The principle of representative status enhances the sense of lineage or
●431 clan solidarity. We have seen how, in ceremonial situations, any member of a lineage or clan is regarded as representing the whole unit. I have often seen men refuse gifts of meat or food at ceremonies because these had no precedent and accepting them would be equivalent to committing their lineage or clan to reciprocate in the same way at some future time.

613 Co-operation in ceremonies, especially in funerals, brings to light the
764 institutional machinery of lineage and clan solidarity. Its basis is the
×618 distribution of duties and privileges among the different segments of the lineage or clan concerned in the situation, in accordance with their segmentary relationship to the group principally affected. Thus in funerals, in accordance with the maxim 'Brother lineages take charge of one's affairs (*sunzɔp m-maan yɛla*)', members of a close brother lineage of the bereaved lineage supervise the ceremonies. In addition, all the segments of the maximal lineage or clan concerned send prescribed food contributions and receive prescribed shares of beer, meat, and food distributed during the ceremonies. Funerals are important because the death of a person may entail a rearrangement of social relations in a segment and this is a matter of common interest to the whole clan.

×618 These obligatory reciprocal services and privileges constantly remind the individual of his dependence on his clansmen for the proper management of the critical events of his life. In consequence the obligation of reciprocity is strongly felt, in both secular and ritual matters, the strength of the feeling being relative to the lineage relationship of the parties. When a man invites a collective hoeing party (*pooh kpa'arɔp*) it is always co-members of his medial lineage who turn up in largest force. Distant clansmen only come if they have ties of personal matrilateral kinship with him. And the motive usually given for responding to such an invitation is 'To-morrow I may need the help of a hoeing party'. Public opinion is critical of those who do not conform to the conventions of mutual assistance, and when they find themselves compelled to call for assistance in collective hoeing or housebuilding or some similar activity, they are left in the lurch.

578 Intra-clan disputes involving lineages of a higher order than the
×618 nuclear lineage very rarely arise over economic affairs—that is, in effect, over the ownership of land or live-stock. Disputes in higher order lineages arise over the inheritance of widows or marriage with a woman who was formerly the wife of a member of a different segment of the clan. Members of the deceased husband's medial lineage feel they have a prior claim to a widow's hand and sometimes object to her marrying a man of a different branch of the clan. And if a marriage is dissolved, no matter what the reason may be, it is regarded as a grave breach of clan solidarity for any other member of the husband's clan to take her to wife. It arouses suspicion of collusion between the woman and the second

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This aspect of the *Bɔyar* cult had great economic and social importance, in the past, for the Hill Talis. The pilgrims bring gifts of salt, cloth, hoes and so forth, nominally for the *Bɔyar*, that is, the Primordial Ancestor, who is believed to manifest himself in the oracular voice. Actually these gifts are secretly shared among the heads of the maximal lineages which own the particular *Bɔyar*. Nowadays these gifts are of small, though by no means negligible, worth, for all these commodities can be bought in any market, far more cheaply than in the past. But in the past they represented a valuable source of supply of scarce and highly prized goods.

Again, the visits of the pilgrims are annually reciprocated by a visit to the client village of representatives of the Talis lineage which is its sponsor with the *Bɔyar* to which it owes ritual allegiance. These ritual visits are made in order to consecrate local shrines representing the *Bɔyar*, to release pilgrims and children born to them from special taboos, and to perform the ritual shaving of the children by which they are formally placed under the spiritual guardianship of the *Bɔyar*. But these services are paid for in cowries and other gifts, and portions of the animals sacrificed are taken home and added to the meat supply of the sponsors. Young men go along on these ritual tours carrying fowls for sale in the client villages, and sometimes buy grain or yams in return.

The pilgrim traffic was, therefore, in former times an economic asset of the first importance as the Hill Talis and their neighbours themselves point out. It gave them also a wider range of social and cultural relationships than their own restricted community. People travelling to and from the Tong Hills on ritual errands carried the sacred emblems of the *Bɔyar* cult and were safe from molestation.

Some twenty years ago the pilgrim traffic took a new turn. Tallensi were coming into contact with Ashanti and the coast, and thus news of the Tong Hills 'fetishes' reached those areas. Men from the Hills, with a mixture of inborn business acumen and sincere faith in the magical powers of their oracle cult, advertised the cult quietly. A trickle of pilgrims from these wealthy and comparatively sophisticated areas began to flow northwards. And the trickle soon became a broad stream. Rich and poor, farmers, traders, chiefs, commoners, literate and illiterate, pagans and Christians joined the stream. To-day this traffic is a major industry of the Tong Hills.

These pilgrims[1] from the south come with extraordinarily varied wishes to lay before the *Bɔyar*. They beg for children, for health, for wealth, for power, for the success of farming and business enterprises, for victory in litigation, for help in a career or in the prosecution of political aims. Most important of all, Ashanti and Colony medicine men come to purchase the privilege of ritual clientship of the *Bɔyar*. They receive the right to

[1] I am indebted to Dr. M. J. Field, formerly Government Anthropologist, Gold Coast, for some information on the Colony end of this traffic. See also her *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* for references to 'Nana Tongo' and her paper 'Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their Significance', *Africa*, xiii. 2, 1940. Rattray, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 361 ff., gives a vivid description of the ceremony at the Tɔnna'ab *Bɔyar* when hundreds of southern pilgrims come to present their pleas and register their vows.

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788 782 425 set up a shrine affiliated to Tɔŋna'ab at their own homes, and these shrines are used by them (*vide* Field, op. cit.) in their own ritual practice to cure witchcraft and dissipate other forms of magical misfortune or misdeeds.

431 788 439 434 This traffic is extremely profitable to the Hill Talis concerned in it. The pilgrims bring gifts in money and kind beside which the traditional gifts of Mamprusi or Bulisi client villages pale into insignificance. Those who have received benefits bring gifts. The medicine men who own affiliated shrines pay heavily for the privilege and bring periodical gifts in gratitude for benefits received. These vary from a pound or two to £10, £20, and in at least one case, for the authenticity of which I have good evidence, £100. In addition the pilgrims pay generously for their board and lodging and for animals which they offer in sacrifice at the *Bɔyar*.

556 439 471 From the beginning this traffic was monopolized by one maximal lineage of Tɛnzugu, Gɔlibdaan yidɛm of Bunkiuk. The head of this lineage, the Gɔlibdaana, a shrewd and resolute man of unbounded ambition, was, until the recent political reorganization of the country, recognized by Government as the headman of the Hill clans. He used his political authority to keep the pilgrim traffic with the south in his own hands, allowing only a minor share of the profits to go to his fellow ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar* (Wannii) to which his lineage belongs. With the aid of the young men of his lineage and young men of other Tɛnzugu clans attracted to him by the lure of gain he has built up a complex organization for keeping contact with Ashanti and Colony pilgrims and clients and for stimulating the flow of pilgrims. By Tale standards he is a Croesus, but it would be hopeless for an outsider to attempt to estimate his wealth. It is enough to see his huge and well-kept homestead, his [595] eighty wives, the sumptuous clothes he affects, the extravagance of his gifts to friends and adherents, to realize that he must derive an income of several hundred pounds a year entirely from this pilgrim traffic.

Though he is himself the principal beneficiary of this monopoly, all the members of his maximal lineage, except one segment, co-operate in running it and benefit from it. His closest partners are some of his own half-brothers and cousins, and their share of the profits is enough to make them considerably more wealthy than the average native. Two or three henchmen belonging to other Tɛnzugu clans and the other ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar* whose presence is essential for the performance of the rites of accepting the pilgrims get about the same 'rake-off' as his near agnates. On a rough estimate I should say that the Gɔlibdaana keeps about half the profits and divides the other half among the other [595] men interested in the business. This enables these others—his close agnates, his henchmen, and the other ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar*—to have from five to nine wives each, where the ordinary native of similar age and status would have at most two or three wives; and the number of wives a man has is a good indication of his income in terms of food-supply and cash. The economic system of the Tallensi provides no outlets for this wealth in new economic enterprise. What cannot be invested in wives, live-stock, and clothes, or consumed in the form of

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602 The usual range of effective uterine kinship is a good illustration of the correlation between spatial relationships and genealogical relationships in the social space of the individual. The physical range of the individual's social contacts and communication with others is, as we have already noted, a function of his range of social relations, which is determined principally by his genealogical connexions. In the days before the establishment of the British peace, matrilateral, and especially uterine kinship, played a very important part in enabling people to travel outside their normal range of social contacts, and so to build up social relations with members of clans usually inaccessible to their own clansmen. A story will illustrate how this occurred.

602 574 484 When the Gorogo-Yikpemdaana was a young man of 17 or 18, sometime during the first decade of this century, a food shortage approaching famine, such as periodically swept the country, descended on the Tallensi. He decided to make a journey to Gbimis, in Mampurugu, across the White Volta, in order to barter some livestock for grain. But such a journey was full of peril. A Talən wandering in Mampurugu would be set upon and killed or taken as a slave by any armed Mamprusi who encountered him. So he went, first, to a *soog* at Pwalagu. This man escorted him across the river to another *soog* living in a small village there, and this *soog* conducted him to Gbimis. Under the safe conduct of his Mampuru *saarət* he was able to carry out his project. In later years he often made this trip to Mampurugu to buy things for resale in the small markets of Taleland.

Though people can travel where they will in freedom and security nowadays, it is still usual for anyone having business of a ritual or jural kind with a distant or unfamiliar clan to follow the web of uterine kinship thither. The route is much curtailed, but the principle remains. If Banərəg's wife's brother, a Sakpee man, has such business at Bongo, he will probably go to his *saarət* at Zuarungu, stay the night with them, go on next morning to a *soog* at Yaraga, and find out from him or her if they have a *soog* at Bongo with whom he could stay and who will guide him and act as his spokesman with *his* clansmen.

602 476 431 In the same way uterine kin assist one another in economic matters. A man who loses time in his farming programme through illness will often ask a *soog* from a neighbouring settlement to come and do a day's hoeing for him where he would not ask for such help from a clansman. Again, crops do not ripen at the same time throughout Taleland. There may be an interval of several days or several weeks between the harvest at Sii and the harvest at Datok. It is the custom, at harvest time, especially at the time of the early millet harvest after the hungry months, for people living in areas that have a late harvest to 'beg (*soh*)' gifts of grain from relatives living in early harvesting areas. Later, when the early harvesting settlements have exhausted their supplies, people will go to kinsfolk in later harvesting areas to beg for grain to tide them

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FE11 Tallensi FE11

over. Such reciprocal gifts pass between kinsmen of all categories. But the giving is specially generous and cordial between *soog* kin.

In keeping with the unrestricted range of cognatic kinship among the Tallensi, the close ties of kinship between male *saarət* are extended to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. With men whose fathers were *saarət*, whether they belong to the same clan or not, the formal ties of kinship are often mellowed by the affection and trust of a friendship like that of their fathers. This is rarer with grandsons of male *saarət*, but not unknown. I have seen a man break down with grief over the death of a clansman who was his father's *soog*'s son. He would have felt no sense of personal loss at all if this extra bond had not existed between him and his dead clansman. Again, there was Tiezien of Kpata'ar's lifelong friendship with his father's *soog*'s son at Zuarungu—a friendship which would not normally have arisen between a Talɔŋ and a Gɔrɔŋ living eight miles apart.

A link of uterine kinship is often used to define the relations of individuals who are not themselves directly related by kinship. A typical case that shows how far the classificatory principle can be pressed, if there is a *soog* link in the chain of relationships connecting two people, is the following. Zaawɔmya of Bunkiuk began courting the young widow of a Wakii man. But in the course of making inquiries he discovered that the girl's late husband's father's mother and his own mother had been distant *saarət*. Zaawɔmya concluded, therefore, that the girl's late husband's father would have stood to him in the relationship of an 'older brother' (*bier*), since he would have called the latter's mother his 'mother' (*ma*). Hence the girl's husband would have been his 'son' (*bii*) and the girl herself his 'daughter-in-law' (*sampɔŋa*). 'Well just think of it', he said to me, when he told me the story, 'how can a man marry his daughter-in-law? So I gave it up.' When Mansami, Ɔmara's own father's brother's son ran away with the wife of Ɔmara's father's *soog*'s son at Dkoog, there was a bitter quarrel between them. Ɔmara accused Mansami of disgracing his (Ɔmara's) kinship ties and ordered him either to give up the girl or leave the homestead. Mansami, obstinately insisting that he and the girl's husband were not related, made this the pretext for keeping her and went off to stay with his mother's brother. Such roundabout connexions through a *soog* link are often exploited for ulterior motives. A common trick of fathers who object to a daughter's marrying a particular man is to allege a remote kinship tie of this sort between the girl and her suitor. The latter and his family head may be sceptical of the alleged evidence for this but they can do nothing about it.

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be a grievous sin against her parents and her ancestors, sure to bring misfortune on her and her children.

I was the unsuspecting witness of the strength of a woman's filial devotion, brought out by the crisis of death, at Sawɔŋba's burial ceremony. Sawɔŋba's daughter married a Tenzugu man against her father's wish. To add insult to injury, when Sawɔŋba sent messengers to demand a cow of the bride-price, his son-in-law turned them away with contempt. As the girl refused to leave her husband, Sawɔŋba cursed her, and, being a leper who knew he had not long to live, expressly forbade her to come to his funeral. She was not told of his death, but heard of it indirectly. On the day of the burial, during one of the major rites, there was a sudden commotion in the crowd around the gateway. A young woman dashed forward, making for the homestead. I could see the strained and agitated look on her face as she passed me. But at once one of Sawɔŋba's classificatory sons darted forward, seized her, and dragged her back to the tree where the elders sat. For a minute or two nothing but a wildly shouting mob could be seen under the tree. Then the girl struggled out, sobbing aloud, her body covered with bruises where she had been beaten by her enraged brothers and clansmen. Followed by execrations, she was escorted by one of the elders to where her husband and a party of his lineage kin were waiting. Only the fear of bloodshed, which would make the affair into that much-dreaded thing, a 'case for the white man (*nasaara yɛl*)', had restrained them from interfering. Sawɔŋba's sons and lineage kin did not see the pathos of their sister's action. They were thoroughly incensed, and called it an insult. Had her husband wished to behave properly, he would have sent an elder of his lineage to beg Sawɔŋba's pardon while he was still alive, or, at any rate, to beg the head of Sawɔŋba's medial lineage to intercede with his sons when he heard of Sawɔŋba's death.

These bonds of a woman with her parental family play an important part in Tale domestic economy. After the harvest there is always a great coming and going of daughters to and from their parental homes. And no man would let his daughter or sister depart, at this time, without a gift of a well-filled basket of grain. This is one way in which a woman builds up her own private resources out of which she provides little luxuries, utensils, and clothes for herself and by means of which she often tides the family over a lean period. This is a privilege, but it has almost the force of a right. Occasionally an elderly woman without a son, or, as sometimes happens nowadays, with her only son away for long in Ashanti or the Colony, is left without proper support in her husband's home. She can then go back to her father's home and is entitled to her sustenance as of right. The services a woman's husband renders to her father, now and then, in the early years of marriage, the interest she has in her brother's children, the importance attached to

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PLATE 6

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a. Kinship *versus* affinal relationships: sons-in-law, sitting in the customary posture of respect, on the right, come to offer condolences to their father-in-law's family and lineage on the occasion of a death

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b. A husband goes to inform his parents-in-law of the birth of his wife's first child. He carries a hen as a gift and a thick stick of Shea wood on which four notches have been cut, which shows that the baby is a girl

[FACING P. 113]

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602 parents-in-law, particularly in the early years while he is not quite sure
of his wife. If his father-in-law sends for him to help with the hoeing,
606 or with building, or his mother-in-law requests him to help thatch
her must respond with alacrity and bring as large a party of
his clan assist him as he can manage. In this way a man shows
honour ates himself with (*giem*), his affines; for these services
are ble obligations, and usually cease to be asked for after
the ma has become stabilized. They bear no relation to the bride-
price, and are lavishly recompensed. A visiting work-party brought by
a son-in-law expects generous hospitality, and the father-in-law, if he
is a reputable man, would feel that he had lost dignity if he did not
feed and entertain the work-party well. But though these services can-
not be enforced, no man would risk offending his parents-in-law by
refusing them. These material demonstrations of respect, gratitude,
and goodwill are essential for the smooth working of a relationship
artificially established by a jural compact. Parents-in-law praise and
like an obliging son-in-law, even if he has not paid the bride-price, the
natives say.

602 This is one side of the affinal relationship. It also has an aspect of
607 friendliness and familiarity, as we have seen, which comes out most
conspicuously in a man's relations with his siblings-in-law. A man has
a joking relationship with his siblings-in-law similar to that of his wife
with his sisters and distant clansmen. It goes so far that a man may
sleep with an unmarried sister-in-law (*dakiipɔk*) who is visiting his
house, and is therefore in that situation identified with his wife. A man's
siblings-in-law belong to the familiar and friendly generation of his wife.
They are identified with her. But they also belong to the potentially
hostile lineage of her father, whose heir a brother-in-law will one day be.
In very many ways a man's siblings-in-law are sympathetically drawn
to him; but their rights in relation to his wife may pit them against him.
The convention of joking serves to reconcile these two potentially dis-
cordant elements of their relationship. But when the marriage has lasted
many years, and the possibility of a conflict of rights disappears, the
element of friendliness in the relationship can assert itself without
prejudice to its jural aspect. Thus, conventional teasing usually drops
out of the intercourse of siblings-in-law of long standing.

606 The formal distance between affines is further shown in the duties
764 and obligations to which a man is liable on the death of a son-in-law or
● 431 parent-in-law. On the death of a parent-in-law a man is obliged to
attend the mortuary and funeral ceremonies. He should come escorted
by a large party of clansmen and their wives, and the mourning party
should wear their finest clothes and be led by drummers and musicians.
A son-in-law should provide the gravestone for a parent-in-law. He
should distribute money freely to the grave-diggers, to the drummers,
singers, and musicians, whose raucous noise stimulates the crowd

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and adds prestige to the occasion, to the widows, to the old women tending the corpse, and to the girls dancing extravagantly in honour of the dead.[1]

A son-in-law should help to dig the grave and to carry the corpse to the grave, or depute a clansman to do these tasks on his behalf. These duties are undertaken readily and with pride, as a rule, whether or not a man has been on good terms with his deceased parent-in-law, though there are no sanctions for enforcing them. Men perform them as a mark of respect to their affines, both to the dead and the living, and it would be a serious affront, causing friction with his living in-laws and deep resentment on the part of his wife, if they were neglected. In addition, there is the incentive of personal satisfaction, for they give a grand opportunity for self-display. The mourning party he brings, his largesse, and the conspicuous assistance he gives at the burial, are all means of showing off his personal importance and his excellence as a son-in-law.

A son-in-law is obliged also to send certain food contributions of prescribed kind and quantity to the funeral of a parent-in-law. Small contributions accompany the mourning party. The principal contribution is due on 'the day of sleeping at the funeral (*kogbedaar*)'. This consists of a sheep or goat cut up and ready cooked, together with a large basket of slabs of porridge and a pot of relish. Unlike the duties previously mentioned, these food contributions are 'debts' (*samər*, pl. *sama*)—i.e. obligatory gifts. If a man cannot pay any of them when they are due, he must do so whenever he is able to; and if he omits to do so altogether before his death, his son will have to settle the debt. For here a sanction that operates in many social and religious obligations of the Tallensi comes into play. If a man dies without paying a ceremonial debt of this kind, then, in accordance with the principle of equivalent returns, he must be done by likewise. *His* son cannot accept the same food contribution from *his* son-in-law until the debt is paid; and this is felt as an affront to his spirit. His son would therefore take steps immediately to set the matter right. In fact it appears to be very rare in normal circumstances, for a man to omit these duties altogether during his lifetime.

Conversely, if a man's daughter or his son-in-law dies, he in turn sends a mourning party to represent him and convey his condolences. He is also obliged to send certain customary food gifts. But these are small in quantity; for though they represent a return in kind for what is due from a son-in-law in like circumstances, they are made by a superior to an inferior, by one who has already conferred a benefit that can never be

[1] The currency chiefly used on such occasions consists of cowrie shells (*layapielɔb*, pl. *layapiela*, lit. white money, the original form *layah*, pl. *ligəri*, being nowadays restricted to British currency), now worth only a hundred a penny. A man can be generous for a shilling, and prodigal for half a crown.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

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fully repaid in the bestowal of his daughter as a wife. A similar sanction to that mentioned in the case of a son-in-law operates here.

If one watches the behaviour of men at the funeral of an affine, one can see that they feel themselves to be under strong constraint. They and their clansmen accompanying them keep together, and when there are no ceremonies or festivities in progress they stay apart from the rest of the crowd. In former days a mourning party of affines always carried arms, and it is said that fighting sometimes broke out at funerals. When Tallensi comment on the ceremonial obligations of affines, they emphasize the feeling of constraint associated with them. One is impressed by the contrast between this attitude and the attitudes associated with the ceremonial obligations that follow on the death of a clansman or cognatic kinsman. It is as if the native feels his ceremonial obligations to an affine to be forced on him from outside, without his choice, whereas he seems to accept his duties and obligations on the death of a kinsman willingly and from within.

602 431

It is evident that reciprocity between affines is different in character from that which prevails between people who have a bond of common interests, such as members of the same family. There is not the same free give and take. When gifts or services pass between affines, whether they are prescribed or ostensibly spontaneous, there is a deliberate effort to counterbalance them. A sort of book-keeping occurs. This appears most clearly in the jural formalities of marriage, but it comes out quite plainly in the apparently voluntary services and reciprocal hospitality of son-in-law and father-in-law. The side that benefits feels impelled to make an equivalent return in order not to give the other party grounds for a grudge. And people who flout this convention not only upset their good relations with their affines and so provide pretexts for conflict with them, but also incur the censure of public opinion.

606 431

One incident will illustrate this. Banorəg asked his son-in-law, a member of an adjacent clan, to come and help him finish the hoeing of his home farm. The young man brought a couple of his clansmen and they worked with zeal from early morning till sunset. Then they went home, politely refusing Banorəg's invitation to come home with him for the evening meal. Had they come as a formal hoeing party they would have been entitled to a good meal as a reward at the end of the day. But they had come informally, and their own homes were near enough for them to get back in time for the evening meal. They spoke of their day's work for Banorəg as a simple act of courtesy to a father-in-law. As we watched them saunter homewards, Banorəg said to me 'Sons-in-law are shy (*deenam mmar vi*). They can't come home with you (their father-in-law) and eat with your children (as if they were your kin)'. But next day Banorəg sent a large basket of millet flour to his daughter with orders to cook a generous meal for her husband and his friends. He would feel ashamed, he told me, if he did not 'thank' the young men

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

thus; and besides, people would say he was mean. This attitude does not occur with the true reciprocity that prevails in the domestic family or between near kin.

Sex in the Relationship of Affines

While, therefore, the relations of affines assume the existence of a formal distance between them, they are not encumbered by avoidances or other social barriers that make friendliness impossible or ordinary social intercourse a burden. There is amity as well as opposition in their relationship. In one matter only is there a rigorous barrier between affines. In respect to sex and procreation they are strictly separate. The emphasis is on the deed, not the word; there is no prohibition against talking to or in the presence of an affine about sexual matters.

One aspect of this ban on bringing sex into the relationship of affinity is the native attitude about a sexual offence against an affine. For a man to seduce the wife of an affine is almost as heinous a transgression as intercourse with the wife of a man of one's own expanded family, though it is not regarded as incest; and the offence is nearly as bad if the culprit is a close agnate of the woman's husband's affine or the woman the wife of a close agnate of the affine concerned. It is a grave offence, also, if a man or his close agnate abducts the wife of an affine or his close agnate. There are no explicit mystical sanctions against either of these wrongs, but Tallensi describe them as 'a thing of enormous evil (*yelbiog tenta'ar*)' bound to bring ill fortune on the wrongdoer, and in any case involving such serious social consequences that no man in his senses would descend to them. They think of the possible culprit as being the son-in-law, and they say that the father-in-law would take away his daughter and the bride-price be forfeited. Affines are bound to fall out with one another now and then. Usually apologies proffered through an intermediary lead to their making it up again. But in the case of a sexual offence against a father-in-law, it is quite impossible to beg or receive pardon. For it is a sin; it 'pollutes the room (*sayam dug*)' of the injured man.[1]

'Pollution of the room' in this sense is very rare among the Tallensi. But it is not unknown for a man to abduct the wife of the father- or brother-in-law (true or classificatory) of one of his own clansmen. The elders of both the abductor's medial lineage and the wronged husband's medial lineage are then extremely indignant. The latter demand the return of 'their' wife; and in all the cases I have come across the former see to it at once that the woman is sent back to her husband.

[1] Cf. p. 28 above. *Sayam dug* has the double sense of a mystical defilement of the sleeping-room—the inner sanctuary of family and of reproductive life—and of an irreparable infringement of lineage rights. If the offender is a distant clansman of the true son-in-law, a ritual reconciliation between the two lineages might be allowed after the defilement has been ritually removed.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

595 627 178 578 paternal kin and more strongly by her uterine kin (*saarət*), insist on doing so. If she survived, she and her children and other *soog* kin would never forgive her accuser. There would be chronic friction in the family. If she died, her children and other *soog* kin would still resent the imputation against them and would have a lifelong grievance against her accuser and her children. The accuser would in any case bear the ritual blame, and would be in danger of mystical retribution. Nowadays, to judge by one case that came to my notice, the accused woman and her kin insist on an oath by the *bɔɣar*, usually the *bɔɣar* of the husband's medial lineage. Both women swear to the justice of their case before the *bɔɣar*, and the one who suffers a serious misfortune soonest—a misfortune such as grave sickness or death in her own *dug* of the house—is deemed to be in the wrong. Whatever the outcome, it amounts to one member of the family invoking the *bɔɣar* which watches over the welfare of the whole group to injure another member of the unit; and this is a sacrilege, even if it is done in the name of justice. It must be atoned for by sacrifices to which both women and their husband (or husbands) have to contribute. But the *bɔɣar* is never wholly appeased; it may still bring misfortune on the family for the sacrilege. And, of course, both women and their *soog* kin might continue to harbour resentment. An accusation of witchcraft, itself the symptom of the conflicts latent in the structure of the polygamous family, breeds endless discord.

595 But it must be emphasized that such cases are rare. For the most part women rub along pretty well with their co-wives. In this the senior wife (*pɔɣakpeem*)—seniority being reckoned according to order of marriage—may exercise a great deal of influence, especially if, as is likely, she is older than the others. Though she has no disciplinary authority over her younger co-wives, she has considerable moral authority over them. As her husband's closest confidante among his wives she knows all the affairs of the family and has its interests close at heart. She stands for the common allegiance of the wives to their husband and the family. A wise and tactful senior wife will keep an eye on the household economy and on the children without seeming to interfere with the liberty of her younger co-wives. Looking up to her with respect and affection, her younger co-wives will accept advice and guidance from her that does much to make the routine of family life smooth and pleasant. The fiction that she is the real mistress of the house (*dugdaana*) and that all the children 'belong' to her in a special sense gives her a formal status that makes this easier. If a suitor calls to see a girl of the family he must pay his respects to the senior wife before he goes to greet the girl's own mother. If a woman's son-in-law sends her gifts of sweet potatoes, yams, and guinea-fowls at the time of the Harvest Festival, she will call all her co-wives proudly to see the gifts, and will distribute some of the tubers among them; but in addition the senior wife will receive a guinea-fowl as a mark of special honour. In such ways is the mistress of the

[431]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

593 It is useful to keep these general principles in mind in considering the details to which we must now give our attention. Putting it broadly, the relations of parents and children can be grouped in three general categories: relations of identification; of opposition or contra-identification; and of reciprocity; and the pattern in each individual case is the product of the interaction of these three categories. Our interest will lie chiefly in the structurally significant norms which give coherence and consistency to the multifarious variety of actual behaviour.

The Importance of 'Rearing'

181 We know that Tallensi regard the possession of offspring, particularly of sons, as the supreme purpose of life. To live long enough to see one's sons' children—to 'reach grandchildren (*paa yaas*)' as the natives say—is a gift surpassing all material wealth. Tallensi believe that it is better to die in poverty and leave children than to die childless but rich. We have seen, also, that they hold it to be the ideal of normal parenthood for physiological and social parenthood to coincide. This is more than a question of conferring social status by descent. From the native standpoint the important thing is that a child's natural parents are the right people to rear it, educate it, and control it.

861 Tallensi say that *ughug*, bringing up a child, is as vital a part of parenthood as *dɔyam*, bearing or begetting. There is a proverb, [538] 'Rearing is more important than bearing (*Ughug n-gaat dɔyam*)', often quoted when they comment on the devotion of a person to a proxy or [431] foster-parent. This is socially recognized in the obligation to give a 'cow of rearing (*ughug na'ah*)' to a foster-father out of the bride-price cattle received for a foster-daughter by her natural parent or guardian, and for a foster-son, when he returns to his natal home. It is, to be sure, only a moral obligation, but no self-respecting native would evade it. It is a recompense for the troubles the foster-father had to endure in bringing up the child. Tallensi feel strongly that it is not enough to bring a child into the world; one must also bring it up successfully, and that is the hardest part.

593 In spite of reshufflings due to widows remarrying and the instability 855 of early marriages, the majority of Tale children grow up with their natural parents. A census taken in 1934 showed that of 170 children estimated to be under 16 selected at random in one settlement, nearly 78 per cent. were living with their own parents. Approximately 20 per cent. were in the care of one natural parent and one proxy parent, and only 2 per cent. were orphans cared for by more distant kin.

593 Tallensi perceive that the social and personal relationships of a 861 particular parent with his or her children are a result very largely of 828 the way the children are brought up. They stress the influence of individual differences in personality in these relationships. There is always a personal bias in the way people interpret the accepted norms

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

presents a remarkable jumble of ages and generations owing to the longevity and protracted fertility of its founder, Kuŋkɔŋki. Because a period of about fifty years elapsed between the birth of Kuŋkɔŋki's first son and the birth of his youngest son, the latter's children are 'fathers' to his older brothers' children, some of whom are three or four times their age. That is how Sinkawol came to be the classificatory 'son' of Kyekambɛ. Now and then Sinkawol had to speak sharply to his pupil. I asked if he would hit the boy if he did not obey his instructions. 'Oh no', replied Sinkawol gravely, 'I cannot strike him. He begot me. He is my father. If he were my brother or my son I wouldn't hesitate to clout him.' Kyekambɛ could not exercise authority over Sinkawol owing to his social immaturity and inexperience. But he would take precedence of Sinkawol in matters of inheritance, and when he grew up would be entitled to precede Sinkawol in rights of succession to ritual office, if he wished to.

Proxy and classificatory parents also feel a responsibility for the welfare of their 'brothers' ' children. Thus if two brothers have separate households, they are not obliged to assist each other with food in times of shortage; and pride restrains a man from asking for help from a brother who is economically independent of him. I have seen men grow wan with hunger, through living for days on end on nothing but wild herbs; but they would never ask for assistance from their better-off brothers. It is up to the latter to offer a gift of grain voluntarily. And when such a gift is given (it is usually only 3 or 4 lb. of grain, enough for a couple of meals) it is offered as a gift for the children and their mothers. The giver will send a calabashful of grain to his brother's wife, with a message that it is for the children. As the natives always say, 'Your brother's children are your children. You cannot see them growing thin with hunger and let them starve.' A woman, too, will sometimes give food to the children of a co-wife of the same joint family, if the two women get on well together.

A proxy parent's authority over his or her classificatory children during their own parent's life cannot be exactly defined. It depends on the situation in which authority is exercised, on the personalities and economic relationships of the people concerned, and especially on the genealogical closeness of own parent and proxy parent. Ɔmara and Saandi are agnatic first cousins (brothers, in native terms) occupying adjoining semi-detached homesteads. They do not farm together. Saandi has no direct responsibility for feeding Ɔmara's children or for educating them. He is, however, directly interested in their welfare and upbringing. For as the head of the nuclear lineage, he must be consulted, and will have an influential, though not the decisive voice in all matters of a jural or ritual kind affecting Ɔmara's children—such matters, for instance, as the marriage of a son or daughter, or the rites of placing a child under the ritual guardianship of an ancestor. If he

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

These affective divergencies spring from the different social relations of father and son on the one hand, and father and daughter on the other. Though a woman's ties with her paternal family are never severed, a man's jural responsibilities for his daughter cease with her marriage. He never loses the moral and religious authority of a father, however, or the corresponding ritual responsibilities for her. His curse is as potent as ever. The shrine of her spirit guardian is in his keeping and he sacrifices to it on her behalf when her husband requests him to do so. His chief ritual responsibility arises if she is persecuted by an evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*). It is his duty to have the rites of exorcism performed so that she can bear children and fulfil satisfactorily her role as a wife. He is obliged to send ceremonial gifts to the funeral if she or his son-in-law dies; and he must 'fetch her funeral home (*die koor*)' and carry out the rites that bring her spirit back to her ancestral fold when she is dead. He has a very definite social and personal interest in her children too. When a woman bears her first child her husband must send immediately to tell her parents and they demonstrate their continued affection and concern for her and her children by sending her gifts of food and other necessaries as generous as their means allow. A poor man might send only a basket of unthreshed guinea corn or millet and a couple of guinea-fowls, while his wife sends some shea butter, vegetables, and firewood. A rich chief I knew, when his first-born daughter had her first baby sent a procession of his younger wives bearing an assortment of gifts, including a 25-lb. bag of salt, several baskets of grain, a sheep, six guinea-fowls, and various luxury articles. Throughout her life a woman has a right to substantial gifts of grain from her father's house at harvest time, and to a home if she is left homeless. Women make a special point of collecting these gifts of grain at harvest time whether they are in want or not. As Tanzoo, the wife of a well-to-do man with enough grain and to spare, said when she received a large basket of early millet from her brother, 'I should feel ashamed not to fetch this grain. My co-wives would scoff saying I have no brother, no father.' Thus it is a source of pride, a test of family solidarity and, most important, a recurrent demonstration of a right to share in the products of the patrimonial estate which they might have owned if they had been born men.[1] These duties that a man has towards his daughter are the nucleus of his relations with her children. They are socially prescribed and fall upon his heirs when he dies.

From Adolescence to Adulthood

Let us return to the relations of father and son during this phase of the latter's growth and study it more closely. The son is a member of

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 178.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

also an *ahəŋ* of Sie and of Təŋ Kuorəg because other patrilineal ancestors of his were *ahəs* of those clans. But when he was explaining his various ancestor shrines to me he accounted for his possession of one on the grounds of his being a *yaaŋ* of Sək—his patrilineal great-great-grandfather's mother's mother having been a daughter of Sək; and for another on the ground of his being an Arogo *yaaŋ*, since his mother's mother's mother came from Arogo. The distinction between *ahəŋ* and *yaaŋ* in this sense implies corresponding differences in social relations. It follows, as can easily be seen, from combining the principle of lineage continuity with that of sibling equivalence.

Our analysis shows that the extension and transference of extra-clan kinship ties through the social system is not an indiscriminate lumping together of classes or groups of relatives. It is strictly regulated by the basic principles on which that system is built up. We must not forget, however, that the majority of these derivative social ties are only potential. The more distant or indirect they are the less frequently and the less effectively do they emerge in the form of actual social relations. We shall come back to this presently.

The diagram overleaf summarizes the results of the preceding analysis.

The Nuclear Relationship of Mother's Brother and Sister's Son

All extra-clan kinship ties, except those of uterine kin, are rooted in the relationship of mother's brother and sister's child. We proceed now to study this relationship in greater detail.[1]

Tallensi say that a mother's brother is a 'sort of father (*u yman ni i ba*—lit. he is like your father)', and a sister's child is 'like your own child (*u yman ni i bii*)'. These expressions conjure up, to the native, a picture of a personal and lifelong mutual interest and attachment similar to that of parent and child. How deeply it goes depends on the character and disposition of the individuals concerned, but it is always there. In part it is no more than a continuation of the interest a woman's close lineage kin have in her children, but it has distinctive features of its own and is counted of more value and importance than a maternal grandparent's interest in a daughter's children.

When a girl becomes pregnant for the first time her husband sends a message to her parents. Later, about the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy, her mother sends one of her close co-wives to bind the girl with a perineal band (*suol voog*). This is a proud moment for her, as the perineal band shows her to have left maidenhood behind and to have entered the ranks of the matrons (*pɔɣaŋaaŋ*, pl. *pɔɣaŋaas*). Then, before

[1] The starting-point of this analysis is Radcliffe-Brown's theory of the social equivalence of the mother's brother to his sister in relation to her children, first expounded in his article 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa', loc. cit. 'Sister's son' in this chapter stands for 'sister's child of either sex', except when the context shows that a male is meant.

[Text continued on p. 301.-Analyst]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

the child is due, her husband sends a sacrifice for her spirit guardian to her father, to secure the blessing of her patrilineal ancestors on the ordeal she is soon to undergo. When the child is born, a messenger is again dispatched to announce its birth to the girl's parents. He is received with the hospitality due to a bearer of particularly glad tidings. Now the girl's mother sends her four new calabashes. These are the infant's toilet-vessels—one for giving the infant its daily medicated water to drink, one as a dipper for use when bathing it, one as a slop basin, one for scooping up its excrement. These private toilet utensils are in part a magical protection for the baby. The occasion is also marked, as we have learnt, by a special gift of foodstuffs to the new mother from her father. All these formalities are not necessary for children after the first; it is enough to send a message on the birth of the child. But the woman's paternal relatives are no less interested in these later children than in her first child.

A child makes the acquaintance of its mother's paternal family very early in life. Its mother's sisters and mother's mother, if she is not too old, are frequent visitors to its mother. Its mother's brothers may be frequent visitors too, especially if they are on friendly terms with its father. But it is not till the child reaches the age of about 5 or 6, when it begins to be taken on visits to its *ahəb yiri*, that it clearly distinguishes these relatives. The person who matters most to a small child at its mother's brother's house is its maternal grandmother (*ma-kpeem*), in whose quarters and under whose care the child lives.[1] Old people, both men and women, love to have their daughters' young children to stay with them, and pet and spoil them quite as much as their sons' children. As will be remembered, grandchildren joke with their maternal grandparents. At harvest time, in particular, old women often have daughters' children to stay for a week or two, so that they can enjoy the good food available at that time. Playing and eating and sleeping with the children of the house, a child learns to regard them as siblings, and partly through imitating them, partly through coming directly under the discipline of his mother's brother, a child thus visiting its *ahəb yiri* learns to think of its *ahəb* as a 'sort of father'. He hears all the gossip of the family. When a domestic sacrifice is performed he is present and receives the portion of the animal—the neck (*nangoor*)—prescribed for an *ahəŋ*. I have more than once seen a small boy of perhaps 8 receive the neck of a sacrifice, amid an amused chuckle from his mother's brothers. If a woman dies leaving a young child of less than 5 or 6 years old it is a common thing for the child to be sent to live with its maternal grandmother for a year or two until it is old enough to need only a minimum of maternal care.

Thus, a child learns to think of its *ahəb yiri*, in the strict sense of its mother's brother's homestead, at first, in the more extended sense, later, as a place where it is given food, shelter, affectionate attention, and

[1] This follows directly from the constitution of the joint family.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

sion to go, saying that the quarrel between the two clans had nothing to do with the question of personal kinship ties. As this example shows, there is a strong element of moral (but not jural) compulsion in the respect owed by a sister's son to his mother's brother, and the sanction behind it is the allegiance every man owes to his maternal ancestors.

On the level of sentiment and affective attitudes there is clearly a close resemblance between the relationship of mother's brother and sister's child and that of father and child. The difference, and it is a fundamental difference, lies in the fact that *ahɔb* and *ahɔŋ* have no common economic or jural interests. Thus a man can be familiar with all the affairs of his *ahɔb* or *ahɔŋ* and be keenly concerned that they should go well, but he is under no responsibility for their satisfactory outcome. The tension underlying the relationship of father and son is absent, and in this important respect the relationship of *ahɔb* and *ahɔŋ* resembles that of mother and child more closely. An *ahɔb* must be respected by and he has considerable moral authority over his *ahɔŋ*; but he cannot demand obedience from him as of right. This will be clearer from what follows.

Here it is pertinent to ask why the mother's brother and not her father—though he is the head of her natal family—holds the key position in the network of social relations that bind a person to his mother's patrilineal kin. As our analysis makes clear, it follows from the interaction of the principle of the equivalence of siblings and the principle of the cleavage between successive generations. A person cannot identify himself with his mother in relation to her father. He cannot have the status of a son and the status of a grandson in relation to the same person. On the other hand, as the preceding discussion makes clear, it is in conformity both with the logic of the social structure and with the pattern of sentiments uniting parent and child, for a person to extend to his mother's brother the filial attitude he has towards his mother. He can consistently be his mother's son and at the same time have a quasi-filial status in relation to her brother.

The Place of Gifts in the Relations of Ahɔb and Ahɔŋ

An *ahɔb* demonstrates his interest in his sister's son's well-being by the gifts (*piisi*) he occasionally gives him. The theory is that they are given freely out of kinship amity. By the rule of reciprocity there should be a similar freely-given flow of gifts and services from *ahɔŋ* to *ahɔb*, but the emphasis lies on the generosity of the *ahɔb*. A man is under no jural or ritual obligation to give things to his sister's child; he does so voluntarily as a quasi-paternal gesture. And though an *ahɔŋ* has no property rights in the lineage or clan of his *ahɔb*, he is, in theory, allowed certain liberties with things belonging to them, as if he were a kind of son of the clan. This is explained by the formula that but for the accident of

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

604 431 birth his mother might have been an owner of these things. In the past, when people moved about less freely than now, a man passing through the clan settlement of his *ahəb* could seize any guinea-fowl he saw and collect any guinea-fowl eggs he came across[1] irrespective of which member of his mother's brother's clan they belonged to. Nowadays this custom is objected to. Tallensi say that with people moving about so freely and frequently as they do now, it would soon lead to the destruction of all their flocks of guinea-fowl. But an *ahəŋ* is still at liberty to cut himself a few heads of guinea corn or millet from any farm when walking through the settlement of his *ahəb*, if he is feeling hungry.

Women *ahəs* have an analogous privilege of much more practical value. As we have learnt, if a woman has a small baby she often gets a young sister of her own inner lineage or clan to come and live with her and be the infant's nursemaid. If there is no suitable girl in her father's lineage, she is entitled to ask her *ahəb* or her father's *ahəb* to give her a little girl. This is a very common practice.

604 426 Sister's son and mother's brother cannot contract debts towards each other. If a man borrows money or livestock from an *ahəb* or *ahəŋ* repayment cannot be demanded. It rests with the borrower to make an equivalent return in due course. Ɔndieso provided an amusing illustration of this rule. He borrowed three shillings from Naambulǝg, a member of the lineage of his paternal grandfather's *ahəb*, and a friend of his. For about a year nothing was said about this loan and the friendship of the two men continued as before. Then a disagreement developed between Kutǝbis, head of Ɔndieso's inner lineage, and the head of Naambulǝg's clan, for which the latter was in part responsible. As it was a question of a right vested in the inner lineage, Ɔndieso supported and indeed instigated Kutǝbis. He was particularly angry with Naambulǝg. Thereupon the latter immediately demanded repayment of the loan, thus symbolically relegating Ɔndieso to the class of non-relatives, and Ɔndieso ostentatiously repaid two shillings. Repaying Naambulǝg in kind, he had deducted one shilling for two fowls Naambulǝg had borrowed from his brother two or three years previously.

604 431 When Bontuya died his son Ba'andoog had to sacrifice a white bull to the dead man's *Yin* shrine before starting the funeral ceremonies. Ba'andoog went to his father's sister's son, who, he knew, had a white bull, and asked for the animal. Very reluctantly the *ahəŋ* parted with his bull. As he explained to me afterwards, it was a very fine young bull. 'But', he said, 'Bontuya begot me and I have no power to refuse him anything.' Several months later the father-in-law of the *ahəŋ* came to him demanding a cow of his daughter's bride-price. The young man promptly went

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[1] Guinea-fowl are only semi-domestic birds. They live out of doors and are very difficult to catch alive. They also lay their eggs out of doors. The privilege of an *ahəŋ* therefore had more of a token value than any practical worth. But I know several men who claim to have used their privilege at least once.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

to his mother's brother's house and Ba'andoog gave him a cow of somewhat greater value than the white bull to give to his father-in-law. But such exchanges are exceptional. A fowl, a sixpence, a slab of tobacco, a few kola nuts, these are the more usual kinds of gifts that pass between extra-clan kin.

There are two gifts from a mother's brother to which great significance is attached. One of these is the gift of a hen to a lad from his *ahɔb* when he becomes capable of productive labour. This is almost a universal custom among the Tallensi. As we have shown in an earlier chapter, its importance lies in that it marks the beginning of the economic (and, therefore, in due course, social) self-differentiation of a boy within the joint family. It symbolizes, and in many cases actually serves as, the starting-point of the accumulation of wealth by individual effort. It was the proud boast of Barimoda that starting as a small boy with a fowl given to him by his father's *ahɔb* he had eventually 'achieved' (*paa*) a cow from which he had had several calves. In every settlement one can find two or three men who have matched this achievement, but it is more common to find men who have 'achieved' a goat or a sheep in this way. And though Tallensi always speak as if they began with one hen this is not strictly true. A boy may receive fowls from two or three matrilateral kinsmen, and he may be given more than one fowl by an *ahɔb* who is specially attached to him. Kɔyatee was unlucky with the first hen his true mother's brother gave him. When it died he told his *ahɔb*, who gave him another. He successfully bred a brood of chickens from this hen and was given yet another hen by the same mother's brother.

An *ahɔb* has no claims on livestock bred in this way by his sister's son. Very often, if a man needs a fowl for a sacrifice and has none that is suitable, he will send to ask his sister's son for one; but this is not connected with the gift of a hen he may have made to the latter many years before. The equivalent return for the mother's brother's hen is made in another way. As has been previously mentioned, when a man 'achieves' a cow, after starting with his mother's brother's hen, he owes this cow to his mother's brother's lineage ancestor shrine (*bɔŋar*). He keeps the cow until it is too old to calve and then takes it to his mother's brother's lineage as a thank-offering to his maternal ancestors. For, say the natives, it must surely have been their beneficence that gave him prosperity, since the hen came from their son.

Far more important is the gift of land by an *ahɔb* to an *ahɔŋ*. There are degrees of finality about such a gift. It is a very common practice for both men and women to beg a plot of land from an *ahɔb*—or any other extra-clan matrilateral kinsman—living in an adjacent settlement to plant with ground-nuts or sweet potatoes. The land given for these purposes generally lies on the outskirts of the donor's settlement, near that of the recipient. As often as not, it is land too exhausted for grain crops; or else it is land not required by the *ahɔb* that season. Use of the land

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

(*Pa m-biiga? Nyɛn ni i tau n-kab dɔɣa bii, pa nyɛnmi biig n-a u?*)'. As will be remembered, men quote the same maxim when they are asked why mother's brother and sister's son are generally so attached to each other. In support of this Tallensi usually quote two customs. Firstly, when an old woman dies, the oldest of her brothers' sons has his head shaved in mourning, as if for his father. He represents all his siblings, Tallensi say, in this act of filial respect. Secondly, a *ba-pɔk* has the power of pronouncing a curse against a child of her brother. She can, conversely, withdraw a curse pronounced by her brother if he dies without having done so, and if he has no surviving brother of the same nuclear lineage. But the social equivalence of a woman with her brother in relation to his children is limited by her sex. She is barred from exercising the jural and ritual authority and the rights of a father. In fact, the tendency is for her to look up to her brother's son as the future heir of her brother and the potential repository of authority in the affairs of her lineage.

Two examples will suffice to show how limited in fact are the jural rights a woman has in relation to her brother's children. They have principally a token value. When a funeral is being celebrated by a woman's husband's nuclear lineage her close lineage kin send a party of mourners to bear their condolences to the lineage of their lineage-in-laws. The party includes a number of young girls whom the woman calls her sisters and daughters. Before they leave again for home these young girls are gathered together and surrounded by a crowd of young men of the host clan. Amid laughter and good-humoured teasing the girls are invited to choose a 'future husband' each from among the young men. It is all a game, part of the hospitality accorded to the visitors. The selected 'husband' has to give a parting gift to the girl who has chosen him, so that she shall go home pleased with her visit. Among these girls might be a daughter of one of the woman's brothers of the same nuclear lineage. If the woman is particularly interested in the young man this girl selects, she may declare publicly that she is giving him the girl as his wife. Everybody pretends to accept this declaration as if it came from the girl's father, but in fact everybody knows that it has only a token significance and no jural force whatever.

Again, if a woman deserts a husband to whom she has been given by her father without having previously arranged to go to another man, she very often takes refuge with a *ba-pɔk*. There she is, so to speak, under a parent's protection but not subject to her father's authority. She knows that her *ba-pɔk* will sympathize with her and cannot in any case force her to return to the man she has left. Her father, satisfied that she is in parental care, will not seek to put pressure on her, at least for some time. However, a girl in this position soon attracts suitors, though courtship has to be clandestine, for she is still formally the wife of another man. But sometimes a suitor succeeds in ingratiating himself with the *ba-pɔk* and persuades her to connive at an elopement, a thing

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

in common with those of mother's brother and sister's child. They are similarly influenced by the closeness of the sibling tie between the brother and the sister, as is to be expected. There is this difference, however, that the contacts between *ba-pɔk* and brother's child are chiefly maintained by the *ba-pɔk*'s visits to her parental home, and not by the brother's child's being taken, or going on visits to her. They are largely a by-product of the woman's contacts with her parental home, and they diminish as she grows older. A man has no occasion to visit his *ba-pɔk* regularly, and a woman is apt to do so only if she lives near her. Opportunity and disposition count for more than in the personal relations of true mother's brother and sister's child. Thus a *ba-pɔk* sometimes has a brother's child to live with her, but this is rarer than for children to stay with an *ahɔb*, and there is usually a utilitarian motive on the side of the *ba-pɔk*. Ɔmara's sister had their late brother's two sons staying with her for two or three years each, in succession. She had them to stay with her so that they could look after her son's horse, and they went home again as soon as they were big enough to farm. If a girl stays with a *ba-pɔk* it is almost always as a nursemaid to her baby. A boy does not go to live with a *ba-pɔk* and grow up in her household, as he might with an *ahɔb*. There is an obvious reason for all this. A *ba-pɔk* does not 'own' her household as an *ahɔb* does. She cannot have her brother's child living with her except with her husband's consent; and though he would, out of consideration for her, not withhold his consent, he might demur against the burden of supporting another man's child, who is no kin of his, for a long time. A woman cannot give her brother's son a place in the household economy as an *ahɔb* can to his sister's son.

With these limitations, the personal relations of father's sister and brother's child are often extremely cordial. Anaaho was a constant visitor to his father's sister's house when he was working near where she lived. He often went there for meals and sought her advice about his affairs. Da'amo'o was welcomed with open arms by his *ba-pɔk* when he travelled with me to her husband's clan settlement. She gave him some presents for his wife who had just had a baby and got permission from her husband for him to take away a large log of a tree that had fallen down near their homestead. A *ba-pɔk* shows her interest in her brother's children by giving or sending them gifts. A person visiting his or her *ba-pɔk* seldom leaves without some such token of her interest and affection. It may be a chicken or a few pence for a nephew, or a basket of shea nuts, a dish of dried vegetables, or a new back-flap to wear at the next festival dance for a niece. The death of her brother's child, especially of a young adult son or daughter, is often a great shock to a *ba-pɔk*. A *ba-pɔk*'s death, on the other hand, seldom grieves her brother's children as much as the death of a favourite *ahɔb*, and they have no formal obligations to attend the funeral with prescribed gifts, or to undergo mourning rites other than the head-shaving of the eldest son.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

own family. She may, as an act of grace, give some of this food to her husband or to a co-wife with whom she is on friendly terms; but she is not compelled to do so. A junior householder thus augments the food supply for his own wives and children. If he comes into possession of a large amount of grain by his own exertions he will generally make a present of a small quantity to the head of the unit to which he belongs; but, again, this is an act of goodwill, not an obligation. A kind-hearted head of a compound may occasionally present a meagre dish of grain to the wife of a younger head of a self-supporting unit, if they are obviously on the verge of starvation; otherwise, self-supporting units in the same compound never assist one another with grain, in the ordinary course of events.

There are other more incalculable means by which food is brought into the household and family. Cereals are sometimes obtained during the hunger months by women from their paternal kinsmen. A marriageable daughter, again, means a succession of suitors bringing gifts of money, guinea-fowls, and various other comestibles to her mother. Wild sources of food are fully exploited. Fruits of the shea-tree (*ta'ay: butyrospermum parkii*) save many a family from the worst straits of hunger, as does the pulp of the dawa-dawa (*doo: parkia filicordea*) pods. These trees have an enormous economic value, as will be evident later. The baobab-tree (*to'o: adansonia digitata*) has a fruit with a floury, sweetish pulp which is relished much as sweetmeats are by ourselves, and its leaves are used to make soup. It is generally found as a shade-tree outside a compound, and women readily get permission from the head of the compound to pluck the leaves. Leaves of the local elm (*nuom: celtis integrifolia*) are also used for soup.[1] Some grasses and fungi serve this purpose too, and small children, who are adepts at foraging for themselves, can often be seen out in groups collecting them.

From the table quoted above it will be seen that one man, on the average, supports himself, 1·2 women, and 1·2 children, over the age of infancy—roughly 3·4 people; but it is clear from the sociological outline given above that any such estimates hold only very approximately in view of the many supplementary sources of grain supply,

[1] We have seen elm-trees in *toŋbana* (sacred groves) and in the bush (where of course, any one can pluck the leaves) but not as shade trees in front of compounds.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

individual cannot be discussed here. Where necessary reference will be made to them later, in so far as they influence the consumption of protein foods.

For the most part, however, the meat which forms an indispensable ingredient of every well-cooked meal, is that of the guinea-fowl. The domestic fowl which is kept as universally as the guinea-fowl, cannot replace the latter since all women eschew it and all first-born children in some clans taboo it. Every compound has its chickens and guinea-fowls. Every man keeps his own; women often do so too; boys begin to breed poultry before they can use a hoe. For poultry, say the Tallensi, is the beginning of wealth. A chicken may be the cause of a quarrel between householders, in which long-standing friction comes to a head, and which leads to households breaking away from the larger unit. In the ownership of poultry, therefore, the tendencies towards the differentiation of households and individuals within the unit of food economy come to marked expression. An individual, even a small boy, can dispose of his poultry freely; the owner of a sheep or a goat, if he is a junior member of a self-supporting unit, would have to inform the head of his unit before selling it, though the proceeds are his own; and all cattle, though nominally owned absolutely by the head of the joint family, can be disposed of only by the common consent of the senior members of that group. Thus the guinea-fowls which find their way into the cooking-pot are obtained not from the head of the unit of food economy, but by each housewife from her husband or by her own efforts. Guinea-fowls are slaughtered specifically for the pot, fowls never. Both kinds of birds are the commonest sacrificial animals, and a guinea-fowl the commonest gift to a woman. Hence the number of birds one sees at a compound is no criterion of the amount of poultry-meat consumed there—the less so as the Tallensi are reluctant to sacrifice their own birds, but prefer to purchase birds for this purpose.[1]

The Tallensi are not particularly discriminating in their choice of meat. Domestic animals dying of disease are eaten to the last shred. At the height of the ritual season cows are often slaughtered and left to lie in the broiling sun for two days before time is found to skin them.

[1] Guinea-fowls sell at 1½*d.* to 6*d.*, chickens at 1*d.* to 9*d.* (depending upon size and the season).

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
Hoeing and weeding of compound and bush farms in full swing. Some still planting subsidiary crops. Poultry breeding begins.	planting areas come to beg grain.[1] Wild fruits still eaten and hunger prevalent in late-planting areas. Ground-nuts, beginning to ripen, plucked and chewed as snacks.
AUGUST: Late planters harvest early millet. Invited collective labour (*kpaarip*) for hoeing and weeding coming to fore, but hired labour still in evidence.[2] Fresh hibiscus leaves used in soup.	Almost everybody has early millet; hunger appeased for a time.

[1] The different settlements harvest at such different times corresponding to their times of planting that more than a month elapses between the beginning of the harvest at one end of Tale-land, and its conclusion at the other end. This gives rise to a system of reciprocities the effect of which is to cancel out the lag to some extent. People from the late-planting settlements visit their relatives in the early-planting settlements as soon as these begin to harvest and receive gifts of early millet from them. Women, especially, go thus to visit their parental homes, and no man would send his daughter or sister away empty-handed. Later, when the early-harvesting settlements begin to reach the end of their early millet stores, the process is reversed. The Tallensi never think of this in terms of economic interchange or reciprocal payments. They insist that *A* gives to *B* freely and without expectation of return because *B* is *A*'s daughter. Later, when *B*'s husband harvests his millet he will send some to *A* freely—because *A* is his father-in-law. It is significant that these mutual 'good turns' always occur between people of different settlements, not between patrilineal kin of the same settlement.

[2] Soon after early millet has been brought in, the elders and others who have had a good crop begin to 'invite hoemen' (*pook kpaarip*). An elder sends round to all the compounds of his section (a sub-division of a clan settlement) requesting the young men to come out and weed his farms, compound or bush, for him on the following day. As no one would be so ill-mannered or so negligent of a kinsman's duties as to refuse, some 20 or 30 young men turn out next day. The one who issued the invitation recompenses them with two meals, flour-water (*zomkwom*) at noon and a lavish cooked meal at night. Thus commences a round of collective weeding, as every farmer who can afford the 20 or 30 lb. of grain and the meat for feeding them in turn invites his kinsmen and neighbours to come and weed for him. Others have to hire foreign labour to the best of their capacity. The Tallensi account for this institution firstly on the ground that it is only by such a mass attack that the rapidly growing weeds can be kept under, and secondly on the ground that it relieves the strain of unremitting toil in the fields and increases the crops.

Gifts to relatives and feeding collective labour are a considerable strain on a man's granary at this time, though, in the long run, much of it comes back. Reliable informants told us that half of their total crop was expended thus, leaving them short of millet in September.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
DECEMBER: Agricultural work over.	Height of ritual season: funeral ceremonies, children's dedication ceremonies, many marriages; all involving consumption of live stock and grain, in sacrifices, as cooked food, and beer.[1]
JANUARY: Period of secondary activities such as housebuilding, cut-	Grain rationing again begins. Grain and other foodstuffs, including im-

guinea-fowls, sheep, goats, and dogs are slaughtered in profusion as sacrifices to ancestral and magical shrines. Beer (*daam*) made of malted grain is boiled, though in small quantities; much food is cooked to receive kinsfolk who call upon and greet each other. Recently married men send baskets of sweet potatoes, frafra potatoes, and yams to greet their parents-in-law. The Festivals last only a few days, but the tubers and animals are consumed over a period of some weeks.

[1] In this period, too, are celebrated all those clan and family religious ceremonies in which animal sacrifices and cooked food and beer play a great part. Indeed, these rites are often postponed for several years until a sufficiently good harvest enables enough supplies to be accumulated. We have seen a cow, a donkey, about 15 sheep and goats, and a large number of fowls and guinea-fowls slaughtered at the funeral ceremonies for a very venerable elder. We were assured by his sons, who were responsible for these ceremonies, that they had used up the whole of a large supply of guinea-corn in the preparation of ritual beer and food and in providing hospitality for throngs of guests. At such a funeral the deceased's cognatic and affinal kin bring obligatory food-contributions of cooked porridge, sheep, goats, and birds. So great were these contributions at one funeral that two or three basketfuls of porridge had to be thrown away as it turned sour. Funerals are extreme cases of the lavish utilization of food at this time of the year; and only three or four big funerals take place in any settlement in one season. Most funerals require a much smaller expenditure of live stock and grain than that made at an elder's funeral.

This is not the place to discuss the types of ritual and ceremonial situations in which 'things' (*bɔn*)—the Tale concept which covers every type of property—are consumed. In a good season there will be a tremendous spate of them; in a poor season only urgent rites will be performed. A word, however, must be said about beer, the most important ritual substance apart from the animals and flour used in sacrifices. Beer is cooked (*doy-*) by women, malted grain (*kpeya*) of guinea-corn or millet being issued to them by the man at whose request it is made. In the average compound beer is never cooked except for ritual purposes which may be twice or thrice a year. Chiefs and headmen, who always have a surplus of grain often, and elders occasionally keep a supply of beer on hand for guests. Tale women never make beer for sale in the markets; indeed, any man would be horrified at the suggestion that his hard-won grain should be used in this way. The Tallensi are a sober people on the whole.